CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

B 433 241 For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. BB 249 175 The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken BB 121 continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

B BB 433 After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges, rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions BB 178 249 161 men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. B BB 241 178 The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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B 241 114 The pattern of national agricultural characteristics is given explicit form by Spiegel in The Brazilian Economy.[2] He speaks of the exploitive character of the land rotation system, the dominance of the latifundio system of land holding, of private, corporate, and absentee ownership with extensive tenancy. Rents are relatively high, the status of agricultural labor low. Technology is backward, and the system of marketing is speculative. Most of these same characterizations appear in the appraisal of Brazilian agricultural development which Preston James has made in Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan.[3]

B 121 Brazil is a huge country, like India almost a sub-continent. The investigation of its agricultural economy on an intensive scale and in all its aspects is an overwhelming task. For the individual investigator working alone and with a limited time, it seems impossible. One approach is to study the economy in one of its variant regional expressions, a method which seems particularly appropriate on account of the pronounced regionalization of Brazilian agriculture. In particular, the investigation of a "passive" region in which the underlying national patterns are present in a relatively intensified and permanent form should give insight into the basal characteristics of Brazilian agricultural life. Such a region is the Recôncavo of Bahia.

BB 249 175 178 The special place of the Recôncavo in Brazilian agriculture is the result of two historical factors: (1) Many of the agricultural institutions and attributes which evolved in the Recôncavo and in the other sugar cane economies during the colonial period have spread to the rest of the nation, partly through migration and partly through cultural diffusion. BB 249 178 The characteristic figure of the sugar cane economy was the fazendéiro (the planter). "With the change in the structure of the fazenda [plantation] the fazendeiro was regenerated in a series of new types," Normano has said, and points to the fazendéiro background

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 Introduction. The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos
os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at
the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo.
The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New
World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in
175 the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in
178 181 the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the
433 241 realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital
investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most
grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social
433 and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese
241 colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued
178 [181] with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society
established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in
markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have
not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and
exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market
for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a
virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive
sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous
increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo.
This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its
agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods
of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of
reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

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241 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural
178 society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In
the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of
change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic
organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural
economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the
throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen
whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution.
[128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a
substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose
is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the
end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic
groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to
[567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro
[249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3]
[231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco
[244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of
[249]
[178] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the
[249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which
[471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of
the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before
1600.[6]

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[244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three
important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

BB [134]

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo *Baiano*, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
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> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread
at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the
Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty *engenhos* were
engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The *engenhos* were the nuclei of
BB 175 the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane
249 464 and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be re-
567 cruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was
supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast
BB and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a
[504] commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of
Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]
Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained
B 175 in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of
161 Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites,
162 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes
BB were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely
162 563 that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number
[174] of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the *Centro-Litoral* of Bahia--the census area most closely
corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white,
22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto,
49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized
in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 433 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to
[567] purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By
1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in
Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the
shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 433 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown
on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were
maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills.
For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 433 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic
agricultural enterprises. The *engenho*--old world in the origin of its

178 249 433 crop, technology, and market—was the most important of these enterprises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

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> The regime of possession of the land was that of completely alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.
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> It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 241 471 433 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the entire engenho community—free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural 000 mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water
power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was
evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from
wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for
several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
[567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively
sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made
substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
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567 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a
perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of
which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did
not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from
about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many
as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the
mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--
retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and
sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the *engenho* in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was *rolo* or *corda* tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent *farinha de mandioca* (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the *sertão* of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 *Economic Development from 1600 to 1850*. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The *engenhos* of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

175 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of
648 sugar cane cultivation.

175 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for
167 the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704)
567 reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but
[1731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the
171 West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles
249 as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian develop-
178 ments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had
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249 been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments
249 abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages
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439 which it had formerly held in the international market. This

175 178 249 439 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo. The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 249 565 567 471 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.

> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
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> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the [466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. 175 249 471 565 [668] These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

> 175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in
> the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season,
> June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views
[178] of many upper-class _Baianos_ who identify themselves with this opulent
era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by
the colonial sugar industry is outliving the _engenho_ system. The
wealth, pride, and ostentation of these _fidalgos_ is undeniable.
Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class
life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of
the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The _casas_
[342] _grandes_—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally
[489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult:
few _engenhos_ had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or
[571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown
[484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class
could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made
frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and
175 249 567 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists
and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were
relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These
slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British
began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and
delegation of administration to people outside the family was not
usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out
of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively
personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relationships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were
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567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as [563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the
[466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

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565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or
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[554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

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162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between
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162 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the
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567 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 563 565 567 was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

175 249 471 454 Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almo

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves—labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
471 454 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 439 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 433 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
249 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

BB 175 249 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets
433 at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by
175 433 the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of
Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured
NB EB by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas,
[316] which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less
strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil,
EB 175 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial
433 opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments,
316 241 which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had
a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially
in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the
South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to
agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo
were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of
Brazil.

BB 175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B There is a historical connection between the events which first
BB 175 bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in
567 the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it
648 [439] also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

B BB 175 567 648 interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

EB 175 567 249 178 The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

BB EB NB 175 439 433 249 At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia 000 fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

BB 175 178 249 257 433 The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

B 175 178 433 439 The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

B BB 175 43 249 257 The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

B 175 257 178 For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until B [249] the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method ~~and~~ produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

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175 was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the
257 more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry.
178 The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence
BB [178] of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB The technological revolution had two historical stages:
175 (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are
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257 clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho
471 stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from
178 fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there
EB is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from
[249]
[257] those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

NB In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo
BB persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological
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178 innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was
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257 typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry
471 began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

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175 In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition
249 257 of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the
B Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the
175 654 nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast
249 257 would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps
B were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the *Instituto do*
[647] *Açúcar e do Álcool* (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as
a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was
to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through
quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this
program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the
Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB
EB During World War II temporary disruption of the national
178 production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an
249 257 advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion
43 limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.
BB In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the
178 249 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following
257 433 World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons
B of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]
[433]

BB While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets
175 in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry
178 249 was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets.
43 Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was
reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only
moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II,
at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865
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175 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small
277 472 operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

B BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco BB 161 162 systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (*Abacaxi*)	168	hectares
Rice (*Arroz*)	61	"
Tomatoes (*Tomate*)	46	"
White Potatoes (*Batata inglêsa*)	44	"
Cotton (*Algodão*)	40	"
Onions (*Cebola*)	14	"
Garlic (*Alho*)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (*Fava*)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. 245 In addition to the above, there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

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African Oil Palm (*Dendê*)
Mango (*Manga*)
Jack Fruit (*Jaca*)
Cashew (*Cajú*)
Bread Fruit (*Fruta de pão*)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

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Cattle (*Bovinos*)
  Cows (*Vacas*)
  Oxen (*Bois de trabalho*)
Sheep (*Ovinos*)
Goats (*Caprinos*)
Swine (*Suinos*)
Donkeys (*Asininos* or *Burros*)
Mules (*Muares*)
Horses (*Equinos* or *Cavalos*)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 *Manioc.* Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] [262] [178] [565] Flour made from the manioc root, *farinha de mandioca*, was the basic subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. 000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

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Rope tobacco, *fumo em corda*, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco—however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brasil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the *sertão* of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of *caatinga* or *mata* vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best—most valuable—leaf of Bahia is the *Mata* grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent *municípios*.[14] Of the *Mata* grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the *sertão*, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for *fumo em fôlha*. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the *agreste*, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, *Bahia-Brasil* is harvested repeatedly until

B 249 433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth--depending upon the year--most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas--the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

B BB 249 175 177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

BB 249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. BB [134] [133] North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

249 244 311 13 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinctive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate, and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licurí palms.

249 244 433 161 361 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the relationship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the necessity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest, where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only [438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 249 244 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

Cachoeira, which
175 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
249 the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[567] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
[439] right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the *sertão*, which could satisfactorily produce *fumo em corda*, but could grow only the poorest grades of *fumo em fôlha*.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
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433 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--*massapê*, *salão*, and *arêia*. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing [242] the intensiveness of cultivation. The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 tons

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of evan these
178 571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an indus-
try whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks
or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433 439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
end to the African market for *fumo em corda*, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, *fumo em fôlha*, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and
from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal
market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry
for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
277 472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249 178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco
economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes
in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry
and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible
leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has
given to the sugar industry.

Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
249 [457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the *usina*, which must be

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane. 101 [133] [361]

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor- 175 311 * 249

• 175 311 [249] tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

133 [361] [487] The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea, the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

132 The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

134 The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as *massapê*, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as *tauá*. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. *Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

2. History of the Town

A STRANGER newly arrived in the town of Vila Recôncavo might justifiably question the reasons for its existence, since it almost seems to be an island in a vast sea of sugar cane. The daily life of the town dwellers, who are fishermen, artisans, and county officials, apparently has little to do with the rural area. In order to understand the separateness of the town and the rural area, it is necessary to investigate the history of both. For, although Vila Recôncavo now appears to be sharply cut off from the life of the plantations and the sugar mill, it has been in the past closely bound up with the fortunes of the rural landowners and is still directly affected by the rural area. 36 121 [178]

The history of this area began during the governorship of Mem de Sá, which lasted from 1557 to 1574. Mem de Sá was the third governor general of the new Portuguese colony of Brazil. The capital of the colony was the city of Salvador, which was settled successfully in 1549 in the second of two attempts. By the time of Mem de Sá, the back part of the Bay of All Saints remained to be wrested from the Indians to complete the colonization of the Recôncavo, a task to which he dedicated himself and which he accomplished in a few years. As new areas were conquered, the land was divided among the favored few in the form of land grants (sesmarias). Mem de Sá took as his own land grant three and a half leagues of coastline extending four leagues inland, plus two islands. The eastern tip of this land grant is now Vila Recôncavo, and the remainder falls into the county of Purificação. Mem de Sá erected one of the largest and best plantations of the colony here, which "he esteemed as much for its value and income 175

175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
165 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two
formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in
1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the
712 early part of the century and continuing invasions and sack-
175 ings by pirates led to the necessity of fortifying appropriate
634 places in the Recôncavo, such as the mouths of rivers emp-

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[1] J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

[3] Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n.d.), I, Book I, 282.

[4] de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.

[5] Ibid.

175 634 712 726 [706]

tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.

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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.

175 794 346 [793]

Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.

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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was
celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still
present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to
whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church.
The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted
in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were
[322] brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and
sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the
[805] bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town
timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the
marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names
inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now
scattered throughout the nation.

175 It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Francis-
cans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
792 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another
large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

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county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in 175 E
the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings 792
of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which 346
will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing 175
of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. 361
By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the
newly created seat of local government, a military post, a [632
highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is 175
symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region 178
at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila
Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of 361
Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a *sitio* (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks
and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. [249]*
Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage
as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane [376]
operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion.
As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found [249]*
an abundance of the rich *massapê* lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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[7] Luis dos Santos Vilhena, *Noticias soteropolitanas e brasilicas, 1802*, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

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438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
361 Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilometers.
As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
[634] eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
[131] passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane growers
from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
[504] as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
[487] waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes leading
to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
[634] west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial district,
thereby losing its prominence as the center of jurisdiction
for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

> 175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
> 361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
> 438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
> people, rich through the products of their large engen-
> 433 hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
> the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fishing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

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[8] Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying [438]
in the city of Salvador. . . .[9] [433]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred [443]
years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo.
Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of [178]
decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo.
In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to 175
Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing
it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed 361
through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important 496
commercially to the state and became the new gateway
to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation.
Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some 175
ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people 361
from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not
enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used [162]
for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to [443]
Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, [497]
and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many 175
other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period 178
of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers 361
lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed,
and administrative activities became more restricted as the
counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal
governments took over more functions, such as schools and
health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced 175
the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer 178
interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated
and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it 361
possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory 489
to the town or the city and back in one day instead of
three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to
spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible
for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping,
medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador,
because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation,
has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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[9] Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

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Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

3. History of the Rural Area

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THE HISTORY of the development of the rural area of Vila Recôncavo is more or less representative of that of most of the sugar area in the states of Bahia, Alagoas, and Pernambuco, and consists of two major aspects. It is first of all the history of the sugar-cane industry in Brazil, and secondly the social, economic, and political record of the people who grew the cane. [184] [171] [249]

The Bahian Recôncavo occupies a unique position in Brazil, for its history is as long as that of what is today the nation. From 1549 until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the new and prosperous Portuguese colony. The Recôncavo, because of its proximity to Salvador, and because of the excellent transportation facilities provided by the Bay of All Saints, was the only part of Brazil in easy communication with the capital city. Although the governors general were occupied with the settlement of other far-flung places in the colony and with the raiding and pirating of the French, English, and Dutch, their first or at least closest worries were those of settling and exploiting Bahia and its immediate environs. By the end of the first fifty years of activity, most of the Recôncavo had been wrested from the wilderness; and, although not free from molestation by the Indians for many more years, it was rapidly planted in sugar cane. As noted earlier, sugar at this time was a luxury item in Europe and brought a very high price. In the first century of its cultivation sugar cane made the fortunes of many people: the growers, the middlemen, the slavers, and the colonial governors. 175 249*

At the start of the colonial period land was given out in the form of grants which originally carried with them the idea of [423]

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423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
*249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of
leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be
made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a
holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or
had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land.
[425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go
into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants
were so very large, the original holders were able to break
them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married
sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough
to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken
up, and several plantations were made of each.

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*249 **Engenho** was the name given to the total plantation, as well
as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast,
313 needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as
close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
(185) sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem,
one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation
never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical
forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hungry
[435] mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary
to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar.
The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the
*249 end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
342 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble
361 proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of
stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a
storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family
living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the
Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent
view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters
nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no
sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of
fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving
gently in the breeze.

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*249 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
361 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
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slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for 249*
each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, iron-
smiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, 361
tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was [463]
that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers,
cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning
later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the [567]
number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three
hundred--the *casa grande*, settled among its royal palms and
overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and
other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the *sen-* 175
hor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and 249*
later of nobility. The *senhor de engenho* dominated Bahia, and
indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernam- 554
buco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar 565*
was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries.
Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and
other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the na-
tion, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at
least in northeastern Brazil.

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its *sobrado*, 175
chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, 249*
oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo planta- 361
tion was set in the early years. Today many of the original
boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept [178]
their original names. In addition to cultivating several units
of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also 175
often rented smaller parcels of land to *lavradores*--free in- 249*
dividuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of 427
sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and
made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to 565*
small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not
own their own land and were completely dependent upon the
plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers
who were cheated by the master and virtually became his
slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were
told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent
than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the
word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of
appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and
justice in the Recôncavo.

As time went on the aspect of the *sesmaria* was lost, and [178]
the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

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571 the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.
• 175 Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought
425 new alignments of property, some families acquiring more
58 land and others losing it through the natural processes of the
* marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of
249 others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the
[594] conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous;
marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives
[596] were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring
plantations, and of course many marriages took place
as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to
find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned
175 by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its
571 traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of
596 the family frequently resided there, although not always. The
patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by
*249 the members of his family, both far and near.

565 Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the
175 province, and many of them were representatives of the government.
In this way the plantation master was securely establishing
*565 himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo
571 but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a
*249 position to see that the government action did not adversely
[423] affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate,
for several centuries social and political domination was in
the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always
strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost,
the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional
[669] people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators,
and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers,
and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters
of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and
financially, for which many were later honored by having royal
titles bestowed upon them.

*175 As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they
249 also fell under the domination of one or several plantation
*565 masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families
to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the
578 plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power
with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by
travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and
nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can
be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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These houses (*solares*, or *sobrados*) were enormous, constructed 565*
of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings.
Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was [342]
necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture
was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially
shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most
of which was imported from Europe. Members of the fami- [291]
lies frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned [301]
with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual
for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite [567]
slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to
church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating [794]
wealth was the support of churches, especially that
of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When 175
the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro 178
in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except 249*
locally, for there was too much distance between him and the 565*
new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still
poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and [567]
finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition
of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the
plantation master.

It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of 175
wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the 567
Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them 249*
to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and
died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part
of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation
of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle
of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth
century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast
of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for
slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the [435]
market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered
that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed [464]
approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields,
the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the
nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly
difficult as a result of European, North American, and
even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth
century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic
became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this [435]

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended
slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

175 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations
567 between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and
*249 intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the
571 *moleque* (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates,
between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

175 The crises through which the sugar industry passed dur-
*249 ing its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy
[654] of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth
175 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest be-
*249 ing the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to cap-
648 ture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

175 In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo
*249 which reduced the slave population and left many plantation
[731] owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-
[426] famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant culti-
[458] vation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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[1] J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, *Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944* (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

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slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily.

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In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell.

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The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais.

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The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters

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found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overburdening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessimistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was written. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

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By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence, much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

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An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is given in the following passage, translated from a document in the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

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Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease

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struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

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During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

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It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanised mill,

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[2] Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.) [104]

● 175 178 *249 [473]

located in a position where it could grind the cane of many plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agricultural and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of people; these were the former plantation masters, who under the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (_fornecedores de cana_) to the mill. The cane was then milled, processed, and marketed by another group of people, a corporate body which became personified as the _usineiro_.

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However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the factories. In other cases the planters resented the new factories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to operate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to assure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their dependence upon the individual planters.

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There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insatiable. The _usineiros_ not only had funds at their disposal which could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corporation. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other methods, the _usineiros_ were able to force many planters into bankruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also, many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts, producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved product of the new factories.

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In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged agricultural-industrial combination, an _engenho_ enlarged many times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the _engenho_ was owned by a family, and therefore subject to transfer on the death of the owner, the _usina_ is a corporation, which continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more 175 ●
powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory com- 249*
bination director and representative of corporate power. 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure [178]
from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many
which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send 175
it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar 249*
and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plan-
tation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and in- 433
dicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce
and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As [656]
a result of this protection, many private plantations contin-
ue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they
send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also
have a separate association which looks after their interests.

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and de- 175
velopment of the factory system and in its wake a series of 249*
fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina
nuclei) has created further competition for the older county 178
seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further dis-
integration of the former community structure.

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila 175
Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sug- 178
ar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vi-
la Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self- 249*
sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern
in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large 423
land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos
(after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to in-
heritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years
the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However,
at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came
to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of
slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of
the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again
under single ownership, although this time corporate and not
that of a single individual or family.

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity 175
for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landown- 178
ing class. The community during this time was focused to a
large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of 249*
slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his 621
large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com-

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munity structure began to break up. The corporations gradually acquired plantations which became commercial enterprises. The Big House was no longer the home of a master and the scene of his family life and social activities. The top level of the social strata partially disappeared, and those who were left to do the agricultural work looked now to the factory for their instructions and pay, to the new factory store for supplies, and to the chalet of the usineiro as the new senhor and patron. The owners of single plantations who joined the factory networks also began to look to the factory nucleus for social life, for buying supplies, and for selling their cane and receiving their money.

Thus each factory slowly became the focus of a new community structure, composed of the nucleus--the factory, the store, and the director's and workers' houses--surrounded by the corporation plantations, each of which still preserves the former plantation pattern of settlement, plus the private plantations, which are little changed in appearance from the days of the engenho. The factory towns, however, did not take over the formal functions of the county seats. In fact, rarely have factory towns received formal recognition as towns by the government. For the most part the factory nuclei appear on official records only as plantations.

Because of the growth of the factory and its surrounding network of plantations, the new community structures of the Recôncavo have taken on almost circular appearances. Vila Recôncavo demonstrates this well. In the spaces between the circles which represent factory systems, may be found the old formal administrative towns, with little of the influence or attraction that they once had. And yet they are bureaucratically important to the functioning of the county. As a result of this breakup of the old community structure, a process which is still going on, there is now no definite, clear-cut community center in Vila Recôncavo.

2s Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

6. Class and Race

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IT WAS the colonial sugar-cane plantation system which gave the Recôncavo many of its characteristic traditions, and which formed patterns of class and race or color relations which have persisted in the region in a modified form. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion of them were brought to northeastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich and formed a regional aristocracy which led a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters formed two distinct social groups. As the colony developed, intermediate groups came into existence. As early as 1549 there existed a small independent group of people, composed of Europeans and mestiços, for many Europeans who came to the colony did not receive land grants. They were merchants, soldiers, or priests in the colony, gente pequena (small people), free but without the social and political influence of the landowners. The mestiços date back to the times when Portuguese ships first began to touch the coast of Brazil, even before colonization began. A notable example is Caramurú, a Portuguese sailor who was stranded on the shore of what is now Bahia and who had a large mestiço family by the time the city of Salvador was founded in 1549.[1]

The early period of colonization is crucial to an understanding of the Brazilian class complex of today, since ap-

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[1] See Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento da cidade do Salvador, (Bahia, 1949), pp. 57 ff.

parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and 175 •
"set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few 56
Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and
of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the
cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were
the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns
to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige
hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established
the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class
and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development
continued, other factors were added to this basic one by
the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was
primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it
was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between
himself and the darkest colored person.

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation 175
of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same 563
time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of 565*
color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters
who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate
if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference
between father and child was not too great. In such a case
the child could become a member of the upper end of the social
hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which
he could command others rather than do any manual labor.
This was particularly the case when the white master did not 175
have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the 563
difference between father and offspring was too great for the 565*
child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the
child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized 848
and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his
place among the gente pequena, free but illegitimate and rather
dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was
even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate
child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left
in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society 175
the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and 563
hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement 565*
was linked with similarity to the white European,
who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status
to those in his image.

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves 175
and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there 565*
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*565 were definite subdivisions or classes, with the white European
567 landowner at the top and the darkest-colored free laborer at the bottom. This bottom group grew constantly as a result of the addition of manumitted slaves, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Abolition of slavery removed the strongest barrier to mobility for the largest homogeneous segment of Brazilian population, that of the slaves. Overnight the former slaves became the bottom rank of a new prestige system based mainly on five major criteria: economic power or wealth, profession, education, family, and color. As the lower ranks swelled in size after the abolition, color decreased in importance for mobility, as the other four factors became increasingly meaningful for this large segment of the population. Because of the fact that for three hundred years such a large part of the nonslave population had been colored or mestiço, and there was already in existence a social scale which included them, the entrance of the former slaves into free society did not upset what was already a fully functioning class system, even though the addition of so many people to the bottom class made this by far the largest, numerically.

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*565 The abolition of slavery also gave increased emphasis to class competition, or at least to the possibilities of competition among a greatly enlarged number of people. Nevertheless, the gap between the top of the hierarchy, the regional aristocracy, and any of those below remained as great as before, restricting class competition to the members of the lower classes. Few people from below were able to enter the uppermost group unless they were white and had in some way accumulated sufficient wealth. Some merchants moved into this class through the purchase of property as former aristocratic families died out. As time went on, many people in the upper brackets of the middle class maintained easy social relations with the upper class.

175 However, formal marriage between colored people of the
563 ranks below and white people of the upper class has always
*565 been forbidden; the small group of landowners and other upper-class people continued to intermarry as they had for centuries. Nevertheless, even this barrier has broken down occasionally, for upper-class people have married and do marry persons known to be of mixed descent. Usually, however, the mestiço partner in such a union is very light-skinned and comes from a family in good economic circumstances which

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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestiço is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

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The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.[2] Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

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TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	Urban	Rural
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

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[2] Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a
large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of
Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother
church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the
[793] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community
nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which
formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care
for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their
[794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build
magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and
to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official
79 state religion, the landowners no longer support the
town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Francis-
*[565] cans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the
upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches
they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy
of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church
794 there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses
of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for 794
the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the 794
same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young 793
people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older [177]
priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses
and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing [776]
the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cun- 771
ha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints 776
are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are
in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitrop- [171]
ical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, [782]
these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence prod-
uce on which the people depend directly for their living. [433]

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was care- 795
fully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions 794
cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial 632
statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the
church was the main census organ, but since parishes and 175
counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are lit-
tle help today in comparing the present with the past. Each [114]
parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each
of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron [776]
of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother 175
church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also 79
constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an
opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per- [776]

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[1] Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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79 iod of decline, the parishes suffered financially; the buildings fell into a state of disrepair, and the parish priests were no longer replaced, for there was no money to support them. The Franciscans in town also suffered materially, and their personnel greatly diminished. About the time the empire ended and the republic began, the flow of young men and women into the religious orders ceased. At the end of the nineteenth century there were no longer enough Brazilian Franciscans to carry on the work in the convent, and a contingent of German Franciscans was sent to Brazil. Since that time, the Franciscans in Vila Recôncavo have been of German birth. Today there are only four Friars in Vila Recôncavo, three ordained priests and one lay brother.

One by one the county parishes were turned over to the Franciscans as the parishes became too poor to support their own priests, until today the three ordained Franciscans must 79 care for the spiritual needs of five parishes. These include, in addition to the convent itself and the five parish churches, thirty smaller churches and chapels, all of which serve a population of over fifteen thousand people scattered over a wide area accessible only by canoe, foot, and horseback. Of these many churches, the only one which has a daily Mass is the Franciscan convent in the town of Vila Recôncavo, for there is always a priest there while the other two are traveling. On Sundays three Masses are celebrated in town: one in the convent, one in the mother church, and one in the small chapel in the lower part of town, commonly known as the fishermen's chapel. Only one town in all five parishes has a scheduled monthly Mass. This special effort is being made because, in the words of the priest, "There is a large religious movement there." In general it is understood between the parish people and the priests that when a town or smaller settlement wants a Mass celebrated the people fix a date for it and notify the convent. If possible, a priest fulfills the engagement, carrying his own robes, Book, Host, and chalices with him.

In addition to saying Mass, the priests are called upon to bless new houses, to give last rites to the sick, to take communion to the aged and infirm at home, and to teach the young [871] children their catechism. Catechism is taught in the schools, and once a week the priest journeys to each school to teach. Near the end of the school year, First Communion is celebrated in the school or, if on a plantation, in the owner's house. The young children receive Communion first, and af-

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

1. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil [633] became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital [346] of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

175 249 567 565 It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north- [571] eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[122] [1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the Introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elisa Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 48.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All 249
writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between 567
the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was 565
not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil 571
relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal
nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New
World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other 175
regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east 249
for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 567
caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar 571
industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past,
and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large 466.
commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large- 178
scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, 565
and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro
slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, [464]
to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in
keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from
the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of
the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions.
They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families
are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In
many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations
between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as
they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed
during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by
modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations
between people of different racial groups have been influenced by
the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the impor-
tance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular
form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European
master took on the plantations.

II. The community with which the present article is concerned is 121
called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known 361
as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State
of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending
inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern
side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was 175
characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Por-
tuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of 249
these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar [311]
production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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249 gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of
soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All
Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants,
so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the
Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two
islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of
Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter
who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of
the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into
plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past
250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names,
but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have
passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past,
the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There
were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
(492) and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the
end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
(471) buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of
course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to
supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The
buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently
a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or
two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their
houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance
of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear.
Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar,
with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*,
were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* consisted
231 of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied
the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power,
[492] and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to
transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided
transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work
in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and
to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which
were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1835 this same *engenho* had 40 house slaves and 135 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

*121 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly
563 discernible.

131 Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately
361 thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally
warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered
[132] by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred
miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four
hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco,
Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four
thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate
[167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred
miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa,
once the home of the parents or grandparents of many
present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another
important source of the city's population.

•175 In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary.
361 As cities go in the New World, she is an old city;
in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty-eight
[504] years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier
than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization
was one of the world's richest ports long before New York
had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation,
162 at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and
*563 deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for
criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young
men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital
ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles
seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese
court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews
expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish
a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

•175 162 *563 colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

*175 563 648 This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

175 167 567 As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 175
1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious 567
Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in [669]
the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro
disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a [792]
long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the correspond-
ing Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still [197]
occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks.
Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding [183]
abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Ba-
hia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for
the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might [771]
have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritu- [177]
al with African mythology and religious practice, evidences
of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult
centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies
have been carried on in the same sacred place for many
decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia 175
became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small 249
aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices
still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there
were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

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[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [113]
(Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition
propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and
does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing [433]
the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more
yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the [464]
labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New
York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the [567]
Madeira Islands in 1548. [137]

[City of Salvador]

249 these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied
a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her
439 flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese
433 empire in the East called regularly on their way back
to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had
[162] grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the
cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings
[34] were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had
[352] become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and
[554] the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding
[567] cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many
slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[5] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549-1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

175 During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia
633 was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence
of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

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[249] [5] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

[City of Salvador]

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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that 633
assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do
Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been
called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also 175
the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop 795
was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and
the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious
life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction
and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions. 361

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and [363]
an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the [406]
two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other [487]
by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course, 000

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[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv). [162]

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CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE AFRICANS

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THE population of Bahia in 1585 included at least three to four thousand Negroes.[1] During the succeeding century the black portion of the city's inhabitants increased to such an extent that it is said a traveler "might have supposed himself in Negroland."[2] Frézier in 1714 estimated the proportion of blacks to whites in Bahia to be at that time twenty to one, which is probably an overstatement, although the preponderance of Negroes was undoubtedly considerable.[3] Approximately one hundred years later, in 1807, an *alistamento* for military service enumerated nearly twice as many blacks as whites, or approximately the same number of Negroes as both whites and mixed-bloods combined.[4] Twelve years later, in 1819, Conselheiro Velloso

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[1] A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 145. Gabriel Soares (*Roteiro do Brasil*, p. 126, quoted by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39, I, 179) puts the number of Negroes able to bear arms in Bahia in 1587 at four thousand. The Jesuit Anchieta estimated the population in 1583 to include three thousand Negroes, a figure thought by Vasconcellos to be an underestimation (see Salomão de Vasconcellos, "A escravatura africana em Minas Geraes," *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio], November 20, 1938).

[2] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), II, 674.

[3] At approximately the same time, Cook estimated the proportion in Rio de Janeiro to be seventeen to one (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 175). Each visitor may have been more familiar with the area immediately about the docks where a greater predominance of Negro workers would naturally be found. It is also probably true that the mixed-bloods were, in each case, included with the blacks.

[4] The totals were: blacks, 25,502; mixed-bloods, 11,350; whites, 14,260 (see João Pandiá Calogeras, "A politica exterior do imperio—as origens,"

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162 de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province
147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

464 The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil
being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favor-
567 able conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and
249 plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane
175 thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open
resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply
which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers
and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to
567 furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United
464 States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the
175 limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions
penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar
with only the crudest forms of agriculture, semi-nomadic,
and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

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[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925–36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939–41), I, 250 n.

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[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919–33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brasil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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567 tum, Bahia serving for at least two centuries as the principal port of entry.[10] The traffic opened in Guinea and the island of São Thomé, spread shortly to the Congo and Angola, and finally to distant Mozambique. It continued uninterruptedly for nearly three hundred years, assuming its largest proportions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when first gold-mining and diamond-panning in Minas Geraes, and then the development of coffee cultivation in São Paulo, augmented the demand.[11] How many Africans were brought

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[10] Often for transhipment to Rio or for overland delivery to Minas Geraes.

[11] Henry Koster, writing in the early nineteenth century, says of this trade: "As the voyage from the coast of Africa to the opposite shores of South America is usually short, for the winds are subject to little variation and the weather is usually fine, the vessels which are employed in this traffic are generally speaking small, and are not of the best construction. The situation of captain or master of a slave ship is considered of secondary rank in the Portuguese merchant-service; and the persons who are usually so occupied are vastly inferior to the generality of the individuals who command the large and regular trading vessels between Europe and Brazil. The slave ships were formerly crowded to a most shocking degree; nor was there any means of preventing this. But a law has been passed for the purpose of restricting the number of persons for each vessel. However, I more than suspect, that no attention is paid to this regulation. . . . . The slaves . . . . are placed in the streets before the doors of the owners, ... lying or sitting promiscuously upon the foot-path, sometimes to the number of two or three hundred. The males wear a small piece of blue cloth round their waist, which is drawn between the legs and fastened behind. The females are allowed a larger piece of cloth, which is worn as a petticoat; and sometimes a second portion is given to them, for the purpose of covering the upper parts of the body. The stench which is created by these assemblages is almost intolerable to one who is unaccustomed to their vicinity; and the sight of them, good God! is horrid beyond anything. These people do not, however, seem to feel their situation, any farther than that it is uncomfortable. Their food consists of salt meat, the flour of the manioc, beans, and plantain occasionally. The victuals for each day are cooked in the middle of the street in an enormous caldron. At night, they are driven into one or more warehouses: and a driver stands to count them as they pass. They are locked in; and the door is again opened at day-break on the following morning. The wish of these wretched creatures to escape from this state of

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in perhaps never will be known, but the number undoubtedly ran into millions.[12]

Angola furnished most of the importations during the late sixteenth[13] and the seventeenth centuries; Guinea, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth.[14] By 1710 Bahian to-

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inaction and discomfort is manifested upon the appearance of a purchaser. They start up willingly, to be placed in the row for the purpose of being viewed and handled like cattle: and on being chosen they give signs of much pleasure. I have had many opportunities of seeing slaves bought; for my particular friends at Recife lived opposite to slave dealers. I never saw any demonstrations of grief at parting from each other: but I attribute this to a resigned or rather despairing sensation, which checks any show of grief, and which has prepared them for the worst, by making them indifferent to whatever may occur: besides, it is not often, that a family is brought over together: the separation of relatives and friends has taken place in Africa. It is among the younger part of the assemblage of persons who are exposed for sale, that pleasure is particularly visible at the change of situation; the Negroes of more advanced age do whatever the driver desires, usually with an unchanged countenance. A species of relationship exists between the individuals who have been imported in the same ship. They call each other *malungos:* and this term is much regarded among them. The purchaser gives to each of his newly-bought slaves a large piece of baize and a straw hat and as soon as possible marches them off to his estate. I have often in travelling met with many parties going up to their new homes, and have observed that they were usually cheerful" (*Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 205–9).

[12] Affonso de E. Taunay, "Numeros do trafico," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 30, 1936. Estimates made by Brazilian writers range from three to eighteen millions, although the latter figure would appear to be considerably exaggerated. Ramos believes the number did not exceed five millions (*The Negro in Brazil*, p. 6).

[13] Especially after the founding of São Paulo de Loanda in 1575 (Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79). See also *Dialogos das grandezas do Brasil*, ed. Rodolfo Garcia (Rio: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1930), p. 143.

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[14] In 1811 an agreement with England, actively enforced by the latter's cruisers, cut off importations from north of the Equator. Angola once more became the principal source of slave supply, and, between 1815 and 1850, approximately a million Angola Negroes, it is estimated, came in (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

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In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

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[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*buzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia .... that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 20, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

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1785 to 1795, and in the last five of these years 17,409 Africans came in from Angola.[20] From 1797 to 1806 approximately 47,000 "Minas" and 11,000 "Angolas" entered Bahia.[21] In the Angola trade, ships plied directly between the Brazilian ports of Bahia,[22] Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Maranhão and the Angola ports of São Paulo de Loanda, Benguella, and, particularly, Novo Redondo, exchanging for Angola Negroes tobacco, *cachaça*, cotton prints, knives, glass beads, powder, and lead.[23] Thousands of Yorubas, Gêges (Ewes), Haussás, Fuláhs (Fulbis, Fulanins), Ashantis, Tapas, Effans, and Mandingas were imported from the ports of Lagos, Forte de El Mina, and São João de Ajudá (Whydah).[24] Felix de Sousa, better known as Cháchá,[25] a mulatto from Rio de Janeiro, played a prominent role in the trade in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been

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[20] Calogeras, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–26.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[22] Several slave warehouses existed in the area between Agua dos Meninos and the Dourado docks. Some slave merchants used their own houses as *depositos*. A certain Siqueira Lima had such a house in Vitoria on the present site of the governor's palace (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

[23] Ferreira reports 8,037 Negroes imported into Bahia in the year 1807 (José Carlos Ferreira, "As insurreições dos africanos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX [1903], 96). In 1821, 21,199 Negroes entered Rio from Angola; in 1822, 24,934 (Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* [London, 1824], p. 146).

[24] Braz do Amaral says there were also imported Africans known in Bahia as Macuas, Bambas, Jalos, Bechuanos, Balantes, Jingas, Krumanos, Timinis, Bengos, Jalofas, Bengalas, Cabindas, Congos, Manjocos, Sentys, Maguiscas, Benins, Queitos, and Bornûs. Numerically important were the Yorubas (Nagôs) and Gêges (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 474–84). The Yoruba subgroups, the Egbas and Ige-shas, were apparently large.

[25] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182; cf. Novas Calvo, *Pedro blanco el negrero* (Madrid, 1933), p. 69.

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In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 40 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

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[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472–73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

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Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

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In plant and animal communities different species come

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the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

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These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32]

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It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi-

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

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narily ended in the death of their leaders, the Europeans lived throughout this period in a more or less constant state of alarm.[34] Arthur Ramos, following Nina Rodrigues, considers these disturbances to have been "nothing more or less than a continuation of the long and recurrent struggles of religious conquest carried on by the Mohammedan Negroes of the Sudan."[35] In support of this contention it has been pointed out that their animosity was directed not only at the Europeans but also at creole blacks and mulattoes who did not join the crusade.

In estimating the character of these revolts, one should give particular attention to the fact that the participants were either free Negroes or those slaves, like the *negros de ganho* and the field hands, whose relations with the whites were not the intimate relations which ordinarily arise out of close personal contact. It is highly significant that on the eve of revolt the whites always received timely warning from

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[34] The following document, which was sent to the governor of Bahia by several *senhores de engenho*, shows the fear which at that time agricultural proprietors had of these disturbances (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346):

> The undersigned owners of *engenhos*, considering the imminent peril in which by reason of the frequent slave revolts known to Your Excellency their persons and, in general, those of all the inhabitants of the Reconcavo and even perhaps of the entire Province [of Bahia] are placed, and considering that at every moment the property of each one of them is at stake, feel it an unavoidable duty to point out this situation to Your Excellency and to beg the actual placing of those Detachments which Your Excellency sometime ago ordered stationed at various points in the Reconcavo in keeping with the police plan of the 10th of December, 1828, the which, being included in the *Proposta* of the Provincial Counsel General, was approved along with other provisions and ordered put into effect, the expenses of its execution to be paid out of the public treasury.
>
> It not being, however, the intention of the petitioners to load onto the Public Treasury the entire burden, they themselves offer to seek to raise a portion of this expense by means of a subscription.
>
> The petitioners rest confident in the interest which Your Excellency has always taken in the preservation of public order, and are thereby assured that you will give ear to this urgent request which they have here set forth.

[35] Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 336; see also Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), pp. 61–107.

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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent *negros de ganho*. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Illustração* [Bahia], June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214).

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] [361] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

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[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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including Cachoeira, to put down an African insurrection, whose leader had been chosen a "king of the blacks" and when wounded and captured "carried a red flag, had on his head . . . . a crown, and over his shoulders an old-fashioned mantle of green velveteen on which had been embroidered a golden cock." An incident of this uprising was the successful resistance of a *quilombo* near Pirajá, a few miles distant from Bahia, to the attack of several *capitães do matto*[43a] who, in the mistaken belief that they had to deal with a small number of Negroes, sought without reinforcements to apprehend these fugitives and lost their lives in the attempt. A detachment of soldiers was required to dislodge the Africans.[44]

In 1827 a body of Yoruba slaves fled into the *matto* after sacking and setting fire to houses in the suburbs of the city. A police force sent in pursuit engaged the fugitives, killing or wounding eight of their number, but met with such resistance over a period of two days' skirmishing that it would have itself been wiped out had not a patrol of troops come to its rescue. The next year, following three separate revolts, slaveholders in the Reconcavo appealed to the governor for more effective police protection.

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In 1835 the last and most serious revolt broke out, led again by Mohammedan Negroes, each of whom wore upon his person a *patuá*, or charm, presumed to protect the faithful against death in any form.[45] Bahia was at that time the

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[43a] "Bush Captains" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

[44] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[45] Padre Etienne Ignace Brasil, "Os Malês," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXXII, Part II (1909), 83. In São Salvador dos Campos, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, "restless slaves wearing plumes in their hats" were arrested, one of whom on being interrogated confessed that orders had been received from Bahia to revolt on the following Ash Wednesday (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

567 669 seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners [186] and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes [714] worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popu- [527] lar festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

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[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute se- [212] crecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language [197] which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organize revolts."

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

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The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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One advantage which Brazilian slaves had over bondsmen in the English colonies was the numerous holidays of which the Catholic religion enjoins the observance. Koster wrote:

> These give to the slave many days of rest or time to work for his own profit; thirty-five of these, and the Sundays besides, allow him to employ much of his time as he pleases. Few masters are inclined to restrain the right of their slaves to dispose of these days as they think fit; or, at any rate, few dare, whatever their inclinations may be, to brave public opinion in depriving them of the intervals from work which the law has set apart as their own. . . . . The time which is thus afforded, enables the slave, who is so inclined, to accumulate a considerable sum of money.[50]

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Among the small proprietors, parity of condition in many respects apparently obtained between master and slave, who worked together and fared much alike.[51]

It is, of course, true that cases of the most barbaric and extreme cruelty occurred, but apparently these were relatively rare and confined in large measure to frontier areas, where masters were very much a law unto themselves.[52] Public opinion was ordinarily opposed to such treatment, much of which has been attributed to Negro or mulatto owners or overseers who were notorious for their severity.[53]

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[50] *Op. cit.*, I, 191.

[51] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 782.

[52] However, Koster records as late as 1800 that, owing to the "abominable cruelty" with which they were treated in Rio de Janeiro, frequent murders were committed by slaves. Iron shackles, sharply pronged iron collars, stocks, and thumb screws were employed, and severe beatings to the point of death and even boilings in oil occurred. See also Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), pp. 116–17, 439.

[53] Joaquim Nabuco made public, and Conselheiro Dantas once referred in the federal senate to "a disgraceful tragedy" which occurred in Parahyba do Sul on July 29, 1886. A master who was an *homem de côr*, his *homem de côr* overseer and *algoz* "flayed and tortured" several slaves until they died

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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

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Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

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from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de matto*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

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[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

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mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and "murder at the slightest whim."[56] The custom of *novenas* and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.[57]

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In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."[58] The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her body like serpents."

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Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the character of the *matto*. They were hunted by hired *capitães do matto*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady income.[59] Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

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[56] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 561–63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79–104.

[57] "Each day at a certain hour . . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

[59] Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do matto," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

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[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

> ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:
>
> There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entrados e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severine Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.
>
> God guard Your Excellency.
>
> Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho.
>
> D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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567 621 equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[63]

B BB 567 571 175 It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[64]

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175 567 621 726 [579] [63] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23-29). BB [728] This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-43.

[64] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

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In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

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[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

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[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

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[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

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Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

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In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

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liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

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The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

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[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–28.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–21.

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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa,*[76] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[77]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

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[76] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[77] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679–1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384–88.

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slaves so that "on the next birthday of the Holy Father, Leo XIII, there may be laid next his throne a declaration saying: 'The clergy of Olinda no longer own slaves.' " A similar suggestion was shortly thereafter made to the bishop of São Paulo by several of his priests. On July 29 the archbishop of Bahia issued a pastoral letter in which he referred to slavery as "a cruel injustice practiced on many of our brothers . . . . a blot which stains the Brazilian flag alone among the banners of civilized nations." The archbishop further declared that, while the church had previously feared that abolition would disrupt public order, the consequences of recent manumissions had entirely dispelled this apprehension.

The proposal of the bishop of Olinda was supported by the bishop of Maranhão, who agreed that "one can do nothing which would honor the august head of the great Christian family more than to grant liberty to those who are our brothers and children of our church." The proposal was also supported by the bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, who closed his pastoral letter with the strong declaration that "slavery is a corpse in need of being interred;"[81] and by the bishop of Diamantina, who proposed "a decree written in letters of gold abolishing slavery in Brazil by the thirty-first day of December, 1887." The bishop of Mariana also advocated general abolition, referring to slavery as an obstacle to the spread of "the great principles planted by our Master Jesus Christ" and reminding the priests of his bishopric that

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[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–19. Although the enumeration in accordance with the law of September 28, 1871, listed 99,401 slaves in Rio Grande do Sul, the census which was completed June 12, 1885, gave only 27,242, or less than one-third of those returned fourteen years earlier. The enumeration of March 30, 1887, listed only 8,436 (*ibid.*, p. 520). It appears that attempts to emancipate by entire provinces originated in this province.

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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

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Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[54]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

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[54] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Sousa Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

[204] Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[81]

[81] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

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[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, 567
jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* 668
"No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, 204
liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an 538
expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio
Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets
then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a BB
poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro.
In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated 175
a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de 567
Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known 668
abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet 204
entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was [544]
published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When
the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured
the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration
was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the
initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da* BB
Tarde.

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves 175
which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry 567
women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros 668
or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco B
presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for 175
the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years 567
later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O* 668
Abolicionismo.[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected [214]
federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian [666]

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[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

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In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

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[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

> ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:
>
> SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.
>
> SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.
>
> SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.
>
> SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.
>
> SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.
>
> ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 16 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

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The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincia do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[19] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

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[19] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

> Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.
>
> Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 115 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.
>
> Dr. José Alves Cardoso e Silva

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602-3, 161).

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ment," a picture of José Bonifacio was hung in the salon of the Gremio Litterario at Bahia, in the presence of "the principal civil and military authorities, representatives of the press, and several delegations from other organizations." The Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana took advantage of the occasion to present six "Letters of Liberty." As these were being distributed,

> a young slave girl, so covered with rags as to look like an abandoned beggar, forced her way into the assemblage and, falling upon her knees, begged and pleaded for her liberty. The pitiful aspect of this girl, the recently spoken words of Sr. Carige, and, above all, the sentiments evoked in contemplation of the sacrificial heroism of José Bonifacio, produced a profound effect. . . . . A citizen arose and said, "In honor of the memory of José Bonifacio, I contribute one hundred milreis toward the liberation of this woman."

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Finally, in 1888, the imperial government at Rio, through a decree signed by Princess Isabel, abolished slavery entirely, freeing the last six hundred thousand Negroes in bondage throughout the country.

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The extinction of the institution of slavery in Brazil thus came about gradually by means of a progressively increasing and finally irresistible popular movement, aided, it seems, by the decay of the sugar industry,[91] by the arguments of the economists who held that the slave was an expensive workman, by the example of the United States in freeing her slaves (which left Brazil the only slaveholding American nation), and by the "strain for consistency" exerted upon the institution by the philosophy of the French Revolution[92]

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[91] Silvio Romero, "O Brasil social," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXIX (1906), 111.

[92] In 1883 Joaquim Nabuco wrote: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty."

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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

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Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

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It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

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[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155-56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103-4.

567 from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very
668 great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian
*563 independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges
[522] of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are
the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

175 Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially
those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the
567 slave question or openly opposed abolition.[25] Most of the
668 large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial
249 legislature and national parliament opposed the
464 abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated
[635] the Liberal party.[26] However, many of the slaveholders appear
[664] to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable
[665] and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial
loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system
[646] would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

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*[563] [25] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142-43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[26] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322). [423]

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297). [342]

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563 ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money.
464 Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or in-
[454] vested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms,
and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to
[457] "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring
EB tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own
175 mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they
423 maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and re-
563 ligious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively
316 to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained
BB efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in
175 the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer
701 them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

575 But the free Negro, in competition with the European

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*794 [100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes:
*563 "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex
and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property,
and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to
whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco
. . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New
Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in
[914] Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with
scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline.
. . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling.
Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers
which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a
certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182-83).

[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832-1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

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[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

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[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

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[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

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CHAPTER III

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CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth [191]
century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again,
while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops
of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single
word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred
individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to
proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans
were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3] BB

Since the major portion of African importations into 175
Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes 567
ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, 197
consequently, could more easily communicate among them- BB
selves in African tongues. Gradually there came into gen- 175
eral use, especially among the influential semi-independent 197
negros de ganho, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which [177]
by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' [563]*
moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole
acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to B

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[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brasil, 1836–1841* (London, [113]
1849), p. 12.

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187. BB

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave [161]
Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyô the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157).

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

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[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	258	156	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

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The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

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It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

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[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

• 175 197 teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

175 178 [291] [854] [262] As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

[533] [534] [794] At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *cansá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217-21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances 796
still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such 535
an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white 571
citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images 177
employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa,
and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia. 175

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had 778
been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and in- 794
fluence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a 178
slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often re- 175
ceived allegiance and great reverence from them. On a
chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are 554
told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a bless- 567
ing requested of them." Even their masters were reported
to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, 175
especially the house servants, soon became, by the very 191
necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. 567
And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children 177
of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

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[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de cansás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *cansás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38). [541]

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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

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[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[30] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

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> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[31]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[32] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[33] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[34] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

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[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[31] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[32] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

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[33] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

[34] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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369 seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her
567 daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[15] Kos-
571 ter wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House"
was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked,
and played with each other, and with some large dogs which
were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids
were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the
greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest
EB of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest
175 laughed at their gambols."[16] Visiting in the interior of Rio
567 de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the
571 female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought
up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages
and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly
treated as if they had been of the family," and commented
that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that
of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant be-
came to all intents one of the family."[17] "How many times,"
writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesi-
EB tate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family
[853] table?"[18] Relations within these households became so inti-
B mate that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white
BB women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers
567 had died in childbirth.[19]

571 In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

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175 [15] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *diner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits* négrillons, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens carlins en Europe."

[16] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59. [17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[18] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[19] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at 567
parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be 571
seen in each other's company. And since human beings, 175
wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradual-
ly to break down the formal barriers between the races and B
to modify the nature of slavery. BB

It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan con- 171
ception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the 567
original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The 175
Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[19]

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[19] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[31] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[31] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177-78).

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The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of servants in the United States."[32]

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Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em familias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

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[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61–62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fazenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fazenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

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567 slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present
571 themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36] in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master
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● 175 made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the
B white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

B13 These forms of etiquette, together with their religious
[171] implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes
B Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of
1B masters and servants towards each other."[39]

175 Relationships of this character were undoubtedly ad-
571 vantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of sub-
567 jection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

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men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201.

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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

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In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

> When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

> He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

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[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

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"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 155.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

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[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

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[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased; for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes bellissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

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[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this . . . . act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195-96).

[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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In the light of these customs which gradually grew up and ameliorated the lot of the bondsman, it is not surprising that neither Brazil nor the mother-country ever felt it necessary to adopt a "Black Code." The Englishman Dent says "I had certainly opportunity of seeing something of the treatment of slaves, being thirteen months in the country; but I never came across any other than considerate kindness from master to slave, sometimes even far greater benevolence and consideration than is exercised towards servants in our own country."[64] Dent mentions an old Negro woman who "had received her liberty sometime ago, but seemed to be much attached to the family and never to have thought of leaving them."[65] Numerous other visitors to Brazil remark that the slaves appeared to be treated with kindness, to be well cared for, and happy. In 1821 Mathison noted that Negroes on an estate near Rio "showed by their cheerful looks and bodily condition that they were well taken care of."[66] "He who has had occasion to observe the happy songs and dances that are sung and danced after sunset by great groups of Negroes in the streets of Bahia," wrote the German scientists, Spix and Martius, "can with difficulty be convinced that these are the same slaves which one had thought, according to the exaggerated accounts of certain writers, had been pulled down to an animal existence."[67]

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[64] Hastings Charles Dent, *A Year in Brazil* (London, 1886), p. 285. Compare the remarks of another English traveler, Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 10): "I want to say that, although some slaves may have been (and undoubtedly were) badly treated, a great many of them were better off than some free-born people here in England in the present day."

[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

[66] Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, 1821–1822* (London, 1825), pp. 93, 121.

[67] Spix and Martius, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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Wells, journeying three thousand miles through the interior of Brazil a few years before abolition, thought that "many a poor laborer at home [in the United States] would enjoy their lot."[68] Gardner, who during five years' residence "saw more than has fallen to the lot of most Europeans," said:

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> I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. On some of the large estates at which I have resided for short periods, the number of slaves often amounted to three or four hundred, and but for my previous knowledge of their being such, I could never have found out from my own observations that they were slaves. I saw . . . . contented and well-conditioned laborers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening anything but broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks.[69]

Codman wrote:

> It is the result of my observation, and I believe that of every one who has investigated the subject, that the Brazilians are generally kind and indulgent masters, treating their slaves with much greater leniency than has been practised by any other people among whom the "institution" has existed in modern times.[70]

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[68] James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles through Brazil* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1886), II, 187.

[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

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[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 201. Absentee ownership, however, occasionally resulted, as on the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo visited by Mawe, in a "system of management . . . . so bad that the slaves are half starved, almost destitute of clothing, and most miserably lodged" (John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* [Philadelphia, 1816], p. 115). Note also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Nor is it to be supposed that the field hands always fared as well as the house servants. Compare the conclusion of Stewart (*op. cit.*, p. 296): "House servants in Rio [1852] are said to have easy times, and to do very much as they please; but to judge from the incidents I have seen of field laborers, I fear such have but a sad and wearisome life."

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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

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[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

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There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brasil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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Negros novos were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

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[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129.

[78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

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[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

[82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

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[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15.

[86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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African costumes, songs, and dances.[17] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful.

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Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[18]

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As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

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Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

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[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[190] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[191] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[192] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

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[190] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[191] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird.

[192] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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Wells, visiting in Minas Geraes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, witnessed the *batuque* and records that

> it is usually danced by two couples, sometimes more, who face each other. Two tinkling . . . . guitars on this occasion commenced a thrum-thrum, thrum-thrum, and the head man of the estate . . . . advanced and marshaled the dancers, two women and two men; thrum-thrum, thrum—three or four voices suddenly commenced a loud, high-pitched, wild, rapidly delivered, impromptu refrain, containing allusions to the *patrão*[103] and his merits, the incidents of the daily work mingled with the loveliness of ideal Marias; the other men present joined in the chorus, each taking a second or third, a falsetto, or a bass. With rhythmic songs accompanied by clapping of hands and shuffling of feet, the dance commences, at first a slow measure that is maintained for some time, then gradually it increases in rapidity, the dancers advance and retreat, the women swaying their bodies and waving their arms, the men clapping time with their hands at every chorus. The measured tones rise and fall, then again increase in time, the songs and shuffling steps become fast and furious, hands and feet and voices all keep time; and there is much pantomimic action between the couples. . . . . The surroundings were a bright fire that burned and flickered on the earth floor. A single-wick castor-oil lamp was hung on a post. The forms of men and women, lightened by the upward glow of the fire, figured prominently against the dark obscurity of the interior of the shelter.[104]

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Certain customs of the whites were taken over completely by the Negroes. Especially was this true (with a few exceptions which we shall see later) of dress. Stewart recounts of

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[103] Employer.

[104] *Op. cit.*, pp. 198–99. The *samba*, a form of the *batuque*, is today in a modified form the favorite popular music of Brazil. For information on the African contribution to Brazilian music see especially Mario de Andrade, "O samba rural paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLI, 37–114; Flausino Rodrigues Valle, *Elementos de folk-lore musical brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1936), particularly chap. iii; Luciano Gallet, *Estudos de folklore* (Rio, 1934).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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177 Stewart recounts of
292 Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and
[567] fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most
conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were fol-
[854] lowed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a
black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all
the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought,
B lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin
muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with
BB lace."[105]

●175 A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth cen-
177 tury served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex)
302 who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the
BB fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and
[794] be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in
Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees in-
B dividuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance,
Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long
BB fingernails.

175 However, assimilation is not a process in which the indi-
177 viduals of only one of the races in contact are modified
B thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged.
BB Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-
175 over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely
177 found a white child, especially during the slave period,
567 who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave
him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or ham-
854 mock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his
855 first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôte!' or
'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

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[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brasil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*:[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

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[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comê;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *côler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

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[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201.

[115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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house like persons of the family." Freyre adds that "still today the members of certain illustrious families *de engenho* can be identified by their peculiar vices of pronunciation which were originally learned from Negroes within their homes," as, for example, the Wanderleys of Serinhaem and Rio Formosa."[117]

The use, among certain slaveholding families, of a "slow and heavy manner of speaking," which gave "an appearance of affectation, fatigue, and illness," is also ascribed by Freyre to African influence. Numerous African words were adopted, especially into the common speech of the lower class, and a few have become good usage even among the educated minority. Freyre writes:

> What Brazilian, at least from the North, feels any strangeness about such words as: caçamba, canga, dengo, cafuné, lubambo, mulambo, caçula, quitute, mandinga, muleque, camondongo, muganga, quibêbe, quengo, batuque, banzo, mucambo, banguê, bozó, mocotó, bunda, zumbí, vatapá, carurú, banzé, mucama, quindim, catinga, mugunzá, malungo, birimbau, tanga, cachimbo, candomblé? Who prefers to say "mal cheiro" instead of "catinga"; or "garoto" instead of "muleque" or "moleque"; or "trapo" instead of "mulambo"? These are terms which correspond better than Portuguese words to our experiences, our palates, our understanding, and our emotions."[118]

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[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.

[118] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 245. For further information on words and phrases of African origin commonly used today in the predominately Portuguese speech in large areas of Brazil see, particularly, Renato Mendonça, *A influencia africana no português do Brasil* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1935); Jacques Raymundo, *O elemento afro-negro na lingua portuguesa* (Rio, 1933); Mario Marroquim, *A lingua do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1934), especially pp. 155–59; Dante de Laytano, *Os africanismos do dialeto gaucho* (Porto Alegre, 1936). The author himself collected approximately three hundred words of African origin commonly used today in Bahia.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

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[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A lingua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[112] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[113] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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De quem é esta casa?
aué
como gérê, como gérê
como érá.[114]

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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[115]

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[112] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-83.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 301-3.

[114] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[115] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220-21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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CHAPTER IV

RACE MIXTURE AND THE CRUMBLING OF THE COLOR LINE

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DURING at least the first century of colonization relatively few European women emigrated to Brazil.[1] Incoming Portuguese were predominantly males whose adventurous natures had led them to sever more or less completely family ties in the homeland. The soldiers of Thomé de Souza's first permanent garrison, who constituted no inconsiderable portion of Bahia's early population, had been specially chosen, we are told, because they were unincumbered by family ties. The few women, principally prostitutes or girls from orphanages, sent out from Lisbon by the Crown at the insistent request of Padre Nobrega[2] were insufficient to provide the necessary mothers of a new generation.[3] So great at one time was the demand for European women that the king of Portugal issued a decree denying girls permission to go from Brazil to Portugal to be trained as nuns unless they themselves on their own volition expressed an unalterable desire to remain unmarried.

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[1] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 60.

[2] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 308.

[3] As late as 1731 Captain-General D. Lourenço de Almeida wrote from Minas Geraes: "Em todas estas minas não ha mulheres que hajam de casar, e quando ha alguma (que são raras) são tantos casamentos que lhe saem que se ve o pai da noiva em grande embaraço a escolha que ha de fazer do genro" (*Revista do Arquivo Publico Mineiro de 1933*, I, 350, cited by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39], I, 95).

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At the same time, if the colonizing venture in Brazil was to succeed, a sufficient population, either European or closely identified with the European, was a necessity.[4] But a shortage of man-power existed in the mother-country. A small number of Portuguese were seeking to establish themselves on a widely extended and constantly expanding frontier. The colonial ventures in India and other areas of the East, where the Portuguese held an irregular coast line fifteen thousand miles long,[5] were draining the mother-country of her quite limited population, depleted as it already was from centuries of war with the Moors. The inhabitants of Portugal at the beginning of the reign of Dom Manoel the Venturesome (1495) are given as only one million.[6] During the thirty years from 1497 to 1527, three hundred and twenty ships are said to have transported to India, "between soldiers and passengers," eighty thousand persons.[7] Some of these returned to Portugal, but most of them remained. Still, Albuquerque complained of the insufficient number of men furnished for his conquests in the East.[8]

The general movement of rural population into Lisbon, drawn by the expansion of overseas trade, had at that time so depleted the supply of agricultural laborers in Portugal, particularly in the southern provinces, that Africans were being imported in considerable numbers to supply the short-

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[4] In 1612 Diogo de Vasconcellos in a letter to the Portuguese king complained that without increased population "mal se poderá remediar nem povoar tão larga costa" (Manoel Bomfim, *O Brasil* [São Paulo, 1935], p. 11).

[5] Albert G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 108.

[6] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[7] Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de historia americana* (São Paulo, n.d.), p. 21, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[8] F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2 vols.; London, 1894), I, 305–6.

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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[11]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

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[11] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

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Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

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These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

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[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluca* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

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[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[20] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerers. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[21] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

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[20] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indigenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

[21] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[22] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[23]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[24] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[25] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[26]

In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

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[22] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[23] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[24] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[25] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[26] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

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• 175 In
*563 the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-
871 teenth centuries, mixed-blood, pure Indian, and Portuguese
797 children were accepted with equal favor and educated to-
gether. "The chronicles of the time reveal no segregation or
any other form of discrimination inspired by prejudice
against the Indian; the program adopted by the padres ap-
pears to have continually fostered friendly intermingling of
BB the races."[27]

175 By the time the relatively small numbers of Indians at
*563 Bahia had been absorbed into the dominant population
group, African women had been imported in sufficient num-
bers to continue extensively the process of race mixture.
The scarcity of white, or near-white, women, at least as
mates for men of the upper classes, was not now so acute as
formerly; consequently, most of the sexual unions with
African women were extra-legal,[28] comparable in some meas-
ure to interbreeding in our South, except that in the case
of Brazil the extent of intermixture was perhaps greater.[29]
B Padre Nobrega wrote from Bahia in the early days of the
BB colony: "Among the people here there are none who do
not possess several *negras* from whom they have many
175 children."[30] By 1819 the number of *mestiços* in Brazil was
*162 given as 628,000—a figure not greatly inferior to that of the
563 whites, who were estimated at 843,000.[31] The pure Negro, it

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[27] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[28] Marriages with Negroes were at first frowned upon. Thus an *alvará* of 1755 which referred to marriages of white men with Indian women as "convenient and noble" condemned "staining one's self" by marrying Negroes or Jews (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[29] See Freyre, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iv and v.

[30] Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[31] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans les deux Amériques* (Paris, 1836), p. 155, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[12] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[13]

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Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[14]

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One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[14a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

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The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

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[12] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio fisico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco países verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[14a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

CHAPTER V

INTERMARRIAGE

AS WE have already seen, the first Portuguese settlers 175 ● in Bahia were almost exclusively males and, like the 563* Dutch under similar circumstances in South Africa and in Java, the English in India, and the English and Americans in Hawaii, took native women for wives. It is reported that when Thomé de Souza dropped anchor in Todos os Santos Bay, he found in and about the site on which the city was subsequently founded "more than forty" Portuguese men living with native women.[1] According to legend, 173 De Souza was much indebted to the Indian spouse of 563* one of these adventurers, "the comely Paraguassú," daughter of chief Itaparica of the local Tupinambás, for the eventual success of the settlement.

Paraguassú had been living with a Portuguese sailor, Diogo Alvares Correia, who, some years earlier, either was shipwrecked or had deserted ship at this point. He had since that time lived with the Indians on what is now known as Graça Hill, which lies within the present limits of the city, and had founded an extensive half-breed family. With the passing of time he has become a legendary figure to whom living descendants proudly trace their lineage. As given by Alvares do Amaral,[2] the legend appears more plausible than Southey's account[3] and is as follows:

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[1] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 300. Based on a *Carta* by Nobrega.

[2] *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 201.

[3] Robert Southey, *History of Brasil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), I, 30–31.

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> Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. 563*
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> On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had [585]
been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon [583]
saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions [795]
between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage."

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers 175 •
had readily entered into informal unions with native women, 583
they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. 585
It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in 563*
the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held [797]
toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state.

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable 175
during the first century of colonization, had by the early 563*

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[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549-1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

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563 seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occur-
[829] rence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

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563 Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the
593 mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human
(848) beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

175 Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous
212 individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equip-
*563 ment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of
[567] whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

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[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

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other possessions, did know how to read and write."[11] Incidentally, some of these men were light mulattoes. 212 563*

175 563* 567 The Negro women known in Bahia as "Minas" were famed for their fine physiques, their proud, dignified bearing, and their culinary skill.[12] They were probably Fulahs and Ashantis who were called "Minas" after the name of the Portuguese slave factory on the West Coast known as Forte de el Mina,[13] whence they were imported into Brazil. They approximated the whites in color and features perhaps more closely than any other imported Africans. Araripe Junior writes that they made "excellent companions." "Healthy, ingenuous, and affectionate, it was inevitable," he concludes, "under the precarious conditions of the first and second centuries, that they should dominate the situation."[14] It is probably among these women that the first legal marriages of Europeans with Negro women occurred. In 1730 the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Luis Vahia Monteiro, stated that "there is no Mineiro [gold miner] who can live without a Mina Negro woman. They say that only with them are they lucky."[15] The Minas became not only *amigas* and *mancebas* of the Europeans but eventually *donas de casa* ("housewives").

[11] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), II, 178-79.

[12] Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, *Congresso Internacional de Historia de America* (1927), V, 481.

[13] Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), pp. 324-25.

[14] Araripe Junior, *Gregorio de Mattos* (Rio, 1894), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[15] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 149.

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[11] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), II, 178-79.

[12] Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, *Congresso Internacional de Historia de America* (1927), V, 481.

[13] Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), pp. 324-25.

[14] Araripe Junior, *Gregorio de Mattos* (Rio, 1894), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[15] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 149.

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563* and the proof of his moral qualities have led people to overlook the evident contrast of his physical characters, and his black origin is lost sight of in the approximation of his moral and intellectual qualities to those of the white."[19]

563* 565 In Bahia today people neither think nor talk very much about interracial marriage. It is of no more consequence, perhaps, than interclass marriage or marriage between different nationalities in the United States. Few marriages of any kind cross class lines. Marriages between a member of the upper class, on the one hand, and an individual who has climbed up out of the lower class into an intermediate position, on the other, or between the latter and a member of the lower class, do occasionally take place. But they occur very rarely between individuals from the upper and the lower strata.

It is the impression of competent residents well acquainted with the social structure of Bahia that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines; that is, that marriages between individuals from different occupational and income levels within each racial group are less frequent than marriages between members of the different racial groups in the same class. Unfortunately, reliable statistical data upon this important point are not available.

563* 162 According to the official records, 42 cases of intermarriage occurred at Bahia out of a total of 1,269 marriages during the year and four months from September 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934. Although this figure represents only 3.3 per cent of the marriages recorded, it does not include those cases in which one of the participants, although classified according to local categories as a *branco* or a *branca*, actually

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[19] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 382.

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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

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[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

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Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

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Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

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[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the 563*
end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become 567
great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão B
were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. 175
Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 162
77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, 563*
over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 567
1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be
slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or BB
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approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[6] Although [162]
no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar [563]*
proportions held here also. (567)

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These numerically important liberated mulattoes began BB
their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores*, 563*
sitiantes), or artisans (both rural and urban), street 463
merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside 175
those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

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Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish 175
themselves in manual occupations more readily than 563*
their brothers in the United States because the descendants 463
of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon 461
manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

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[6] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

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The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

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Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

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[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

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The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

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[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

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In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populaçoes meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luis dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Bras do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

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[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18] 565

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The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

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The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

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Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

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[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160-61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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159 of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the
*563 interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs.
When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[11]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal
B charm but also for his intelligence and professional com-
BB petence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

*563 Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is con-
555 cerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the
565 return of young professional men who had been trained in
571 Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—
•175 enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes.
These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a
[463] number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better
B informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-
BB brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the
[177] clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

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[11] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

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The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[22] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[23]

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Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[24] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

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[22] For a sketch of the rise of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145-68.

[23] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[24] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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The Count do Grobineau speaks of meeting three mulatto ladies-in-waiting to the Brazilian empress, one "marron," one "chocolat eclair," one "violette."[35] Montezuma became a viscount and sat in the national senate, as did also Salles Torres Homem. The best elements of the aristocracy attended the receptions for the noted engineer, Andre Rebouças.[36] His brother Antonio, a federal deputy, on requesting a representative on the crown council for the *população mulata* was heard attentively by the *camara*.[37] Domicio da Gama and the Barão de Cotegipe were long prominent in political and diplomatic circles. Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta became an archbishop. No musician is said to have been more distinguished at court than the mixed-blood, José Mauricio. Domingos Caldas Barbosa, the son of a Negro woman from Angola, acquired considerable fame in the salons of Rio de Janiero and of Lisbon as a singer of popular songs. The eighteenth-century sculpture of Antonio Francisco Lisboa, better known as Aleijadinho, which may still be seen today in the old churches of Ouro Preto, Sabará, São João d'El Rei, and other cities of Minas Geraes, attracted much favorable comment. José Basilio da Gama, whose *Uruguay* is said to be the best epic poem of the colonial period, the writer, Machado de Assis, and the lyric poet, Antonio Gonçalves Dias, were universally accorded high rank in Brazilian letters. Tobias Barretto was honored as a poet but even more as a jurist and annotator of German philosophical works which he had translated. José de Natividade Saldanha, an able poet, was one of the leaders of the revolt in Recife in 1824.

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[35] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 354.

[36] Visconde de Taunay, *Homens e cousas do imperio* (São Paulo, 1924), p. 145, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 112.

[37] Antonio Pereira Rebouças, *Recordações da vida parlamentar* (2 vols.; Rio, 1870), I, 524, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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463 beira, have all been influential politicians with national repu-
*563 tations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São
571 Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At least one president of the Republic, Nilo Pecanha, had Afri-
B can ancestors.[28]

643 It is said the royal family set the example of social accept-
644 ance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those
*563 whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI, in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of
175 all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball, Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subse-
B quent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this
BB illustrious man."[29]

175 The range of acceptance was at that time broadening.
178 Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those
*563 most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorporated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title 'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had been so active and apparently so invincible during three previous centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

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[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

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The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

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[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

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Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

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The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[34] Similarly,

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[34] "The daughters, the *ydyds* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[15] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[16] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[17] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[18]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156-57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bacharel* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[15] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulata* for sexual intercourse."

[16] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[17] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[18] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

178 184 This division in cultural identification, however, is not always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

565 178 177 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and traditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

439 175 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

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[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

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[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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[824] oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[15] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[16] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

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787 In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

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[15] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[175] [669] [16] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 260]

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blacks, while they themselves are increasingly being incorporated into the predominantly European stock.

In the development of this general tendency to amalgamate and to assimilate all ethnic minorities, the circumstances and conditions of settlement played a significant role. In Brazil, unlike in the case of the English settlement of the United States, few women, as we have seen, emigrated from Europe during the first century of colonization. Until stable conditions and a normal distribution of the sexes were achieved, cohabitation with native Indian women commonly occurred. In this way a population large enough to colonize successfully the new frontier was assured, in spite of the fact that Portugal, because of the drain upon her slender resources to enable her to conquer and hold the vast empire in the East, was unable to provide it. When Thomé de Souza in 1549 set up the first permanent settlement at Bahia, he found already on the site a numerous body of mixed-blood descendants of Portuguese sailors and adventurers who for some years had been living with the Indians. As far as the limited number of females made it possible, Thomé de Souza's men took mates from among these mixed-bloods; others cohabited with pure Indian women. These interracial unions, as in Goa (India) and elsewhere throughout the Portuguese dominions in the East, were subsequently encouraged as a matter of policy by the Portuguese state. Moreover, the Catholic church "regularized them into Christian marriage," thereby lending its powerful sanction to interracial crossing and bringing parents and children within the control and discipline of the church. In other words, a tradition of intermarriage became firmly fixed in the colonial mores. [175] •

The considerable body of *mestiços* which grew up are said

[SALVADOR]

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The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

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[103] From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
[249] Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[192] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

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voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

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Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

826/11 cont./

829 563 576 [192] Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physical characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin, "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

[192] A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Sometimes the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic [196] little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 563 829 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often designated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true
African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea,
Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves,
under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the *troquette*, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the
colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of
Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by
the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 *candomblés*. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the
famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great
extent.

*563 The words *pardo* and *mestiço*, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the
hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into
disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, ac-
cording to the predominance of one or the other of the characteris-
tics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of
[196] Whites, are also called *cabo verdes* or *rôxos*. A young girl showing
few traces of crossbreeding is a *roxinha* or even a *cabrocha*; in
this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove
from the word any pejorative meaning.

[SALVADOR]

826 *563 562 829 192 [113]

/13 cont./
may not be of African blood (3).

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 *563 192 [178] [196] 175 829 648 641 576 192

The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a compliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of good manners.

192 178 829 576

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.

144 192

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/ represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the persons charged with identifying school children, the military, the criminals (1).

144 *563 829

1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

144 *563 829 815 [113]

[SALVADOR]

/17 cont./

• 175 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until
439 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened
167 to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was
829 never a center of massive European immigration, like certain
609 southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia
with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time,
*563 the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise
adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The
829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category;
*563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly
speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a
foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance
[443] with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever
[178] manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them
were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and
hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that
stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against
[656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

● 175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the
[595] colonists mixed largely with the *tupi* /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-
[829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of *morenos* explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor *pegado a dente de cachorro*, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/
[167] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands
[567] to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the *minas* Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, *Deux années au Brésil* /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble," who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
[829] Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number
of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia.
This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city
and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves,
*563 that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to
162 the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as
Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks,
it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piauí,
which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia
[829] the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily
on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the
more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its
progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

175 /22 cont./
829 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved
567 for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic
182 clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate
797 the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important
role in the establishment of good relations between races
in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the
175 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported
171 slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable
829 "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized,
567 catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous
797 slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts"
and became "Christians," with the same title as the European
colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination.
175 They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the
797 preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly
198 in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the
567 Africans of different origins were able to understand one another.
175 They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated
567 by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended
79 to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received
[585] the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings
[764] and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they
marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems
of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries,
the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time
to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their
lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely
integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and
the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning
certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them
to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them
to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies
(batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of
[177] origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with
[771] fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a
large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

/23 cont./

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Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending; the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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[113]

In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do I° Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

829 458 439 • 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 * 563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

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2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of [157] Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial
period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1),
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(113)

> 1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride," Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

[SALVADOR]

These marriages increased after
175 /40 cont./ Independence, in 1822, with the
178 social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers
*563 graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process
555 which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 951.

178 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have de-
*563 creased with time, and so the latter became more numerous
626 every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the
584 bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many
593 marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers
557 prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun": in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" *moreno* suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

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/46 cont./
*563 although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear.
441 The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world
[186] war and whom people knew under the name of "Russians," are
the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become
interested in other kinds of commerce: strictly exclusive
in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates,
so that the dark employees that they have among them never
occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top
positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher
strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed
toward restricting the chances of colored people in this
[233] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves
[472] in the city during the second half of the last century and who
turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated.
Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some
*563 *morenos*. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery
472 business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves
256 and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain
441 this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed
through the immigration of young men of the same nationality,
who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new
firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the
*563 Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in
472 Spain, they had mulatto children or *morenos* here by their
441 servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no
[175] right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in
[848] their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the
[428] Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their
[671] families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only
from the economic point of view, but especially from the social
and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant
[256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property
of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them
almost completely, that they now control this type of business
entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

/53 cont./

000 • 175 178 *563 645 646 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had represented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." [173] [829] If one is to believe oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 666 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

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/57 cont./

*563 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in 647 such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution [668] that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were *pardos* all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, *pardos*, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, *A primeira revoluçao social brasileira* -- *1798* /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a *moreno* /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He [178] himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser- [665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

[SALVADOR]

/72 cont./
* 563 social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one
794 to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and
[565] third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded
for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed
* 563 into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations
554 have always been very important in all of Latin
794 America for marking or confirming the social classification of
their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished
person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions
the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a
[796] management position. During certain large religious festivals one
can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear
[292] with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic
of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying
the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be
able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of
the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The
elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon
which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and
which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest
among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions
who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to
say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached
and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended
for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his
social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities.
[175] These organizations were created in the colonial period in
order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as
happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic
groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order
[178] to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that
[565] even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class
lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the
process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new
conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions
having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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/74 cont./

*563 give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance,
794 and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of
793 a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied
797 important positions in the administration of the State and who even
[554] reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers
who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the
best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very
affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen,
to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of
institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar
*563 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with
794 regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year
554 to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons
of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos
793 Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period
• [175] of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should
[567] not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and
authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were
excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century
foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests
officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At
[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy
orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all
kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial
or family origin (1)."

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[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

/104 cont./
000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
• 175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the
Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the *pardos* over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered
socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented
unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is